

WHAT WAS THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE *ANCRENE RIWLE*?

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1.1 The current theory seems to be that the original text of the *Ancrene Riwe* was in English. Some great scholars, such as Mätzner¹⁾, Wülker²⁾ and Mossé³⁾, support it. Dr. Thomas Smith⁴⁾ in the late 17th century, as well as Wanley⁵⁾ in the early 18th century, thought that the original language of the *Ancrene Riwe* was Latin. Their reasoning was grounded on the prefatory note⁶⁾ of Magdalen College, Oxford, Latin MS 67 (Ma), one of its Latin versions.

1.2. In 1853, James Morton advanced the new theory in favour of English in the preface to his "*Ancren Riwe*"⁷⁾, which was the first printed edition of it. But Edgar Elliott Bramlette was in favour of Latin in his *The Original Language of the Ancren Riwe* (*Anglia* XV), while G.C. Macaulay⁸⁾ backed up French. His grounds were refuted by Dorothy M.E.

1) See E.E. Bramlette, *The Original Language of the Ancrene Riwe* (*Anglia* XV, 1893, pp. 478—498) p. 479.

2) See *ibid.*

3) F. Mossé, *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen age*, II *moyen-anglais*, 1949, Vol. 1. p. 169.

4) *Catalogue of Cottoniana*, London, 1696. See James Morton, *The Ancren Riwe*, Camden Society, London, 1853, pp. vi—vii; Bramlette, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

5) *Hickesii Thesaurus Ling. Septentr.*, Oxford, 1705, Vol. 3, p. 228. See Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. vi—vii and Bramlette, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

6) See Morton, *op. cit.*, p. vii, foot-note.

7) See Foot-note (4). His edition was grounded on British Museum, Cotton MS Nero A xiv.

8) G.C. Macaulay, *The 'Ancren Riwe'*, *Mod. Lang. Review* IX, 1914, pp. 63—78, 143—160, 324—331, 463—474.

Dymes⁹⁾, who supported English. Charlotte D'Evelyn¹⁰⁾ supported English again and this problem about the *Ancrene Riwe* seems to be settled for the present.

2.1. Morton asserts as follows.

"In particular, there are words in the Latin text erroneously translated, and some not even translated at all, apparently because the Latin translator did not know how to render them, which could not have been if the vernacular had not existed before the Latin text... These imperfections in the Latin text are surely sufficient to warrant the conclusion that it is not the original, but a translation of the *Ancren Riwe*. And it is further to be observed that, in the Latin codex, not only is the first part, or book, greatly abridged, or rather mutilated, but the eighth, or last part, is wholly omitted, and that intentionally, as we learn from the words of the translator himself, or his transcriber, at the conclusion of the seventh part."¹¹⁾

He quotes the following four items as the untranslated English words found in the Latin version, using Nero A xiv (N) and Ma. The forms of the *Ancrene Wisse*, i.e. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 402 (CCCC MS 402 or B)¹²⁾ and Merton College, Oxford, MS 44 (Me)¹³⁾ will be quoted here by the present writer for reference sake. Nero A xiv is counted by the page and line of Morton's edition, Me and B by those of the editions of EETS, and only Ma by the folio number.

- (a) ane rikelot þet cakeleð hire al þ heo isihð, oðer ihereð (N 88/25).
a rikelot þe cakeleð al þ ha sið & hereð (B 48/4).
rykelotam ad fabulandum quicquid videt et audit (Ma 13).
rikelotam ad fabulandum quicquid uidit et audit (Me 24/33).

9) Dorothy M.E. Dymes, *The Original Language of the Ancren Riwe, Essays & Studies* IX, 1924, pp. 31—49.

10) Charlotte D'Evelyn, *Notes on Some Interpretations between the Latin and English Texts of the Ancren Riwe*, *PMLA* 64, 1949, pp. 1164—1179.

11) Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. viii—x.

12) *Ancrene Wisse*, EETS OS 249, ed. J.R.R. Tolkien, 1962.

13) *The Latin Text of the Ancren Riwe*, EETS OS 216, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn, 1944.

- (b) “*euer is þe eie to þe wude leie þerinne is þet ich luuie*” (N 96/24)
eauer is þe ehe to þe wude lehe (B 52/4).
Euer ys the yerȝe to the wode lyȝhe (Ma 15).
 Et forsā tunc diuertit ad alia verbotenus, corde in primo proposito remnante. Iuxta illud Anglice: *Euerē is þe eye to þe wode lye* (Me 28/15—17).
- (c) *þet habbeð iwiued o þeos seouen heggen* (N 216/23).
þe habbeð iwiuet o þeose seouen haggē (B 112/16).
qui has septem haggēs duxerunt in uxores (Ma 44).
qui has septem haggēs duxerunt in vxores (Me 77/34).
- (d) *Hweðer eni totilde ancre uondede euer þis, þet bekeð euer utward ase untowe brid ine cage?* (N 102/4).
Hweðer ei totilde ancre fondede eauer þis þe beakeð eauer utward as untōhe brid i cage? (B 54/16).
 Nunquid aliquotiens hoc expertæ sunt anachoretæ, vel sanctimoniales exterius rostrantes, ad modum avis indisciplinatæ in *kagya* exire nitentis (Ma 16).
 Num-quid aliquociens hoc experte sunt Anachorite uel sanctimoniales exterius rostrantes ad modum auis indisciplinate in *kagia* exire nitentis? (Me 29/32).

2.2. He lists the following as “words in the Latin text erroneously translated.”¹⁴⁾ His interpretations on them are given in the inverted commas.

Table I

	N		Ma	
a	urake	“frail” 204/2	vorax	40
b	hore	“their” 222/31	meretrix	46
c	tale	“number” 226/14	narratio	47
d	vren	“to say the hours” 286/16	audire	62
e	herboruwe	“an arbour” 340/12	herbarium	62
f	bode	“an offer” 400/1	corpus	76

- (a) *Þet is riht religiun, þet euerich, efter his stat, boruwe et tisse urakele worlde so lutel so heo euer mei* (N 204/1—4).

14) Morton, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

þ is riht religiun þ euch efter his stat borhi ed tis *frakele* worlde se lutel se ha least mei (B 106/1—3).

Religio recta est ut quilibet secundum suum statum accomodet, seu mutuo accipiat a *voraci* mundo quanto minus potest (Ma 40 b).

Religio recta est ut quilibet secundum suum statum accomodet seu mutuo accipiet a *voraci* mundo quantum minus potest (Me 72/8—10).

- (b) God hit wot swuch feste makeð sum of *hore* (N 222/30—31).
 Godd wat swuch feaste makeð sum *hore* (B 115/27—28).
 Tale conviviam facit quandoque *meretrix* (Ma 46).
 Tale conuiuuium facit aliquando *meretrix* (Me 81/7—8).
- (c) Þenc her of þe *tale* of his ampuiles (N 226/13—14).
 þencheð her of þe *tale* of his ampoiles (B 117/5).
 Cogitatis hic de *narratione* de ejus ampullis (Ma 46).
 Cogitatis hic de *narratione* de eius ampullis (Me 82/25).
- (d) Ofte, leoue sustren, 3e schulen *vren* lesse uorte reden more (N 286/16).
 Ofte leoue sustren 3e schulen *uri* leasse; forte reden mare (B 148/11).
 Sæpe, caræ sorores, debetis minus *audire*, ut plus legatis (Ma 62).
 Sepe, care sorores, debetis minus *audire* vt plus legatis (Me 108/3—4).
- (e) Of ham, þet is, of swuche flures make þu his *herboruwe* wiðinnen þe suluen (N 340/11—12).
 Of ham make his *herbearhe* inwið þe seoluen (B 173/32).
 Ex his fac sibi *herbarium* intra semetipsam (Ma 62).
 Ex hijs fac tibi *herbarium* intra temetipsum uel ipsam (Me 131/13—14).
- (f) And alle þeos þinges somed, a3ean mine *bode*, ne beoð nout wurð a nelde (N 400/1).
 ant alle somet a3ein mi *bodi*; ne beoð nawt wurð a nelde (B 203/32—33).
 Et hæc omnia simul in comparatione ad *corpus* meum non valent acum (Ma 92).
 Et hec omnia simul in comparacione ad *corpus* meum non valent acum (Me 158/16—17).

3.1. Bramlette refutes Morton's grounds after examining them. He asserts:

I. It is not by the translator but by the copyist that the eighth book is omitted. He attains to this conclusion from presuming that the words found at the end of the seventh book, "Habeatis tamen illas breviter in octava parte" are the author's, and the words following them, "Octavus omnino taceatur" the copyist's. The corresponding part to 32/14—34/12 of the first book in Morton's text is drastically abridged in Ma. Bramlette presumes the abridgement of the part to be due to the copyist.

He asserts that those "alleged omissions in Oxford MS are additions in the English text" (Bramlette, *op. cit.*, p. 480). He goes on to pick up and examine 14 passages where Ma and N do not agree, concluding in most of them that Ma is genuine. This will form one of the good reasons for backing up Latin. In only 2 instances he thinks the English version better. "Aerem" (Ma 21 a) corresponds to "eare" (N 124/14). He assumes the "aerem" is a mistake made by the copyist for "aurem".¹⁵⁾ "Swine" (N 140/8) corresponds to "simie" (Ma 24 b), which he supposes traceable to the English gloss "swine".

3.2. II. He examines those words which Morton asserts to be put into the Latin Version in the untranslated English form.

- (a) "Rykelot" is not English, either. Behind this curious form he supposes some English word hidden. He infers that "gigelot" is the word, which must have been misheard as "kikelot" and again changed into "rykelot", and that it was first put into the Latin version as an English gloss to a Latin word, say, "nugigerulam" and then "substituted for the original Latin word" (Bramlette, *op. cit.*, p. 491).
- (b) "Packses" (Ma 30 b) corresponds to "packes" (N 168/3) and "hagges" (Ma 44a) to "heggen" (N 216/23). He supposes that they are the original English glosses substituted for the Latin words.
- (c) "Kagya" (Ma 16 a) corresponds to "cage" (N 102/4). He presumes the former to be "cagia", a medieval Latin word.
- (d) He does not think it unnatural that an English proverb should be put into the Latin text. But he interprets "Euere ys the y3e to pe wode ly3he" in the sense of "Ever is the eye to the mad flame." In N we find "euer is pe eie to pe wude leie, perinne is pet ich luuie" (96/24—25). According to him, "Ey3e et herdes. id est. scheuen" (Ma 7 b) is "The eye devours multitudes: that is, by looking". "This

15) Cf. Macaulay, *op. cit.*, p. 74. "P. 124, l. 13, the word 'aerem' in the Latin is right, and the best manuscripts of the English text have 'eir'."

The parallel passage of *Ancrene Wisse* reads as follows.

"& te wind ne wundeð nawt bute þe eir ane" (ed. Tolkien, EETS OS 249, 66/16, 1962).

is quoted as a proverb in the Latin text, while it is entirely mutilated in the English" (Bramlette, *op. cit.*, p. 493). The corresponding part in N is "& mid gode riht muwen eiðurles beon ihoten eilðurles, vor heo habbeð idon muchel eil to moni on ancre" (62/18—19). In Me we find "In Anglico bene dicuntur 'Eye therlles' quia multum 'eil', id est, multum dampnum fecerunt multis" (Me 15/20—21).

3.5. Those "words in the Latin text erroneously translated" according to Morton.

(a) "Vorax" and "urakele" each satisfies the context of its own version. Bramlette thinks that it cannot be decided upon which is the mistranslation of the other.

(b) "Vren" may be an error of "hyren". "Hyren" would suitably correspond with the Latin word "audire".

(c) The "hore" in "sum of hore" (N 222/31) would suitably correspond to the Latin word "meretrix" (Bramlette, *op. cit.*, p. 496).

(d) "Tale" (N 226/14) would not mean "number", but "narrative". It will be an allusion to a story in *Vitæ Patrum*,¹⁶ p. 1072.

(e) "Herbaruwe" (N 224/12) found in the corresponding place for "herbarium" (Ma 76 a) would be a mistake for "herber", "erber".

(f) "Bode" would not be "offer", as Morton asserts, but "bodi", that is, "body".

4.1. G.C. Macaulay says, "The evidence that the English text is actually a translation from the French is, I think, convincing. A considerable number of passages may be cited in which it seems clear, for one reason or another, that the French has a better claim to be regarded as the original than the English" (G.C. Macaulay, *op. cit.*, p. 65). He selects 15 passages and compares Morton's edition and the French version (Cotton Vitellius F vii). But D.M.E. Dymes¹⁷ examines these 15 selected specimens and makes it clear that we cannot draw a conclusion in favour of French from them.

16) *Vitæ Patrum, Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, LXXIII. ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1879.

17) See Foot-note (9).

4.2. By the way, we find a Latin couplet in N 240/21—22.

Mors tua, mors Domini; nota culpe, gaudia celi,
Judicii terror, figantur mente fideli.

Six rhyming lines follow it. In Cotton Vitellius F. vii they are in French prose. Macaulay says, "I take it...that the *French* writer, who was no doubt an Englishman, turned them into *French* prose when he adopted them for his purpose, and that the English translator, being familiar with the original quoted them as verse" (Macaulay, *op. cit.*, p. 69). If we were to substitute "Latin" for the twice repeated "French", this statement would immediately come to pass for an argument in favour of Latin. His reasoning can be said to be, as it were, a two-edged weapon.

4.3. Macaulay goes on to criticize Bramlette. In many cases, however, he draws conclusions without giving us reasons for them. Sometimes he lacks persuading power, allowing an ample scope for arguing the other way. As for the English proverb in the Latin version, Macaulay argues that "he (=Bramlette) does not seem to realize how very unusual it is to find proverbs quoted in English in an original Latin book of that period" (Macaulay, *op. cit.*, p. 72). But it would be impossible to say that we had not any possibility of finding "proverbs quoted in English in an original Latin book of that period."

Morton is of opinion that 'hagges' (Ma 44 a), 'heggen' (N 216/23) was a rare word and could not be understood by the Latin translator, who put it untranslated into the Latin version. Bramlette thinks that the word was very common. Macaulay supports Morton. After all, it is impossible to decide which argument is right.

As to "urakele" (N 204/2), "vren" (N 286/16) and "bode" (N 400/1), Macaulay blames Bramlette, but he is very arbitrary and does not give us his grounds for criticizing Bramlette. Comparing "þe isihð þene gnet & swoluweð þe vliže" (N 8/23) and "colantes culicem et tamen glutientes camelum" (Ma 2 a), Macaulay says, "Here the sober sense of the *author* was unable to accept the oriental hyperbole... the *Latin translator*, who is always particular about the fulness and accuracy of quota-

tions, naturally returns to the camel" (Macaulay, *op. cit.*, 73). But the reasoning to the contrary purport would be possible, changing "author" into "English translator, and "Latin translator" into "author".

5.1. Charlotte D'Evelyn runs on along the line in favour of English, relying on Macaulay's assertions. But strangely enough, she does not touch at all on his argument backing up French. She only quotes, and in reasoning makes use of, his criticism thrown at Bramlette. Could we not infer that Dymes's criticism caused her to disregard the theory in favour of French?

5.2. Her view is summed up at the end of her dissertaion (D'Evelyn, *op. cit.*, p. 1179).

"Taking this textual evidence as a whole one may conclude with some confidence that Latin was not the original language of the *Ancrene Riwele*. *The additions in the Latin text are insignificant*; the omissions destroy the personal quality and disguise the primary purpose of the treatise; the Latin text in many instances can be explained and corrected by the English text; the presence of English words and of a paraphrase of English verse—all this points to an English source. Sylistic evidence showing the Latin text consistently condensing and generalizing the more concrete and vivid method of expression of the English version might add its testimony."

5.3. The part italicized by the present writer is aimed at Bramlette. But we must say that she has misread him. Macaulay has, I dare say, the same sort of misunderstanding about Bramlette, which she must have taken over from him. (See Macaulay, *op. cit.*, p. 75.) Bramlette does not list as supporting Latin those passages which are found in the Latin version, but lacking in N. On the contrary, Bramlette asserts that "other alleged omissions in the Oxford MS. are additions in the English text" (Bramlette, *op. cit.*, p. 480) and that the more condensed text of the Latin version is original. He only lists specimens rather unfavourable to him to avoid being dogmatic.

6.1. We cannot say that the Latin version is a translation from the

English text, because the former lacks personal quality, concreteness and vividness which the latter has, and because the one is more condensing than the other. The writing in a foreign language and not in the mother tongue is liable to be brief and lacking in those qualities in style. We Japanese have had the same experience when taking pains to write, say, in English.

6.2. We can generally explain the existence of English words in the Latin version by the English gloss entering the original Latin text and by the technique of quoting well-known proverbs. The existence of the Latin paraphrase of English verse does not lead to the conclusion that the whole work is a translation from English.

6.3. As to variations between an English and a Latin text, authorities have decided in favour of either one or another according to the subjective, arbitrarily read-into sense satisfying the context. Some refuse English variations, judging after the Latin text, others the Latin variations after the English. Some people claim that the Latin version is original and that it was enlarged when translated into English. Others maintain that the English text was somewhat abridged when translated into Latin. After all, these arguments are no more than arbitrary, dogmatic and uncertain guesswork.

6.4. The scholar who is in favour of English interprets "sum of hore" (N 222/31) as meaning 'some of them' and condemns "meretrix" (= prostitute) in Ma (46) and Me (81/8), "as erroneously translated" (Morton, *op. cit.*, p. viii). But in the sense of 'some of them' we should have 'sum of ham'. And N 340/11 actually has the expression of "sum of ham". Morton again takes "azean mine bode" (N 401/1) in the sense of 'against my offer', and condemns "ad corpus meum" in the Latin version as an error. But could we not take "bode" as '(Christ's) body', *i.e.*, 'the sacrament'?

6.5. Indeed, we cannot find the eighth book either in Ma or Me, but V¹⁸) has the part. Macaulay admits that "the absence of the eighth part in the Magdalen MS. is due to a scribe" (Macaulay, *op. cit.*, p. 76).

18) British Museum, Cotton MS Vitellius E vii.

6.6. Morton's grounds for supporting the English version are not necessarily admitted. It is an unsoluble question after all whether the first book was abridged when it was translated from English into Latin, or when a Latin version was copied from another.

6.7. Corruptions in each text have their own histories. It is rather difficult to use them as the conclusive evidence to decide on the original language. Must we not stir up seemingly "settled dust of controversy"¹⁹⁾? Can we not reconsider the problem from a more objective point of view, leaving a rather subjective interpretation of context?

7.1. It is one of the most remarkable things about the *Ancrene Riwe* (Nero A 14) that we find rather many instances of the bare infinitive (about 40) there, in the functions of the subject, predicative, object and regimen of the preposition *of* and *but*. (The parallel places to them in the *Ancrene Wisse* (CCCC 402) generally have bare infinitives also.) This is rather a surprise. Since in Late OE the *to*-infinitive seems to have established itself in those uses. In Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, for example, we can find no instances of the bare infinitive functioning as the subject, if we exclude the four items of Skeat XXIII, XXIIIB, XXX and XXXIII as not written by Ælfric after N.R. Ker²⁰⁾ and P.A.M. Clemoes.²¹⁾ In the remaining items, nearly all of them being rhythmical prose, there are only two instances of the bare infinitive functioning as the object or tertiary modifier of the verb, if we disregard some cases in the fixed idiomatic uses. The afore-said two instances are:

Mid þam þe ic hogode helpan þinum wife
mid þam ic forleas min (XXXVI) 363
and he bigde gelome
þohte mid þam bigum æt-berstan þam deade (XXXI 1059).

7.2. The bare infinitive is used by Ælfric and in those four excluded

19) D'Evelyn, *op. cit.*, p. 1175.

20) *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957, p. 206).

21) *The Chronology of Ælfric's Works (The Anglo-Saxons, Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickens*, ed. Peter Clemoes, London, 1959).

items in the following fixed idiomatic cases.

- (1) When used with small verbs. In the following two sentences, are the infinitives *biddan* and *ge-earnian* combined with small verbs (*wolde*, *sceolon*), or the preceding infinitives (*wacian*, *ofer-swyðan*)? If combined with the latter, they are regarded as following the early OE tradition.

Ʒa ðohte heo Ʒæt heo wolde wacian ane niht
æt agnes byrgene *biddan* hire hæle (VII 268).
We sceolon swincan and ofer-swyðan unƷeawas
mid godre drohtnunga godes rice *ge-earnian* (XXVIII 122).

- (2) When used with *gan* and *cuman*. The bare infinitive modifies the finite form of *gan* and *cuman* in the following quotations. There are only four instances of this construction with these verbs in the whole of *the Lives of Saints*. (Such a use of the bare infinitive is often met with in *Beowulf*.)

Hieu Ʒa eode to his gereorde *sittan* (XVIII 348).
eode ongan *feccan* Ʒæt ofer (XXX 176).
Ʒa com Ʒær-to *ridan* sum cristen man sona (XXVIII 90).
Ʒa com Ʒær færlice *yrnan* an Ʒearle wod cu (XXXI 1039).

- (3) When used with *uton*. There are 19 cases of *uton*+the bare inf. in the remaining items of Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* and 9 specimens in the excluded prose items.

Uton nu *behealden* Ʒa wundorlican swyftnyssse Ʒære sawle (I 122).
ac uton nu ealle swiðe gearwe *arisan* and mid him Ʒyder geond *gan* (XXIII 747—8).

- (4) When the bare infinitive modifies *lystan*.

Ʒæt is asolcennyss oƷƷe slæwð on englisc
ðonne ðam menn ne lyst on his life nan god *don* (XVI 297).

Callaway²²⁾ collects 61 examples of *lystan* and 3 of *gelystan* with bare

22) Morgan Callaway, Jr., *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* (Washington, 1913).

infinitives. Following Bock,²³⁾ we must take these infinitives as the tertiary modifier, not the subject, of the verb. The formula of *list*+bare inf. is rather long-lived. Not to mention Chaucer (*e.g.*, *Cant. Tales*, *Prol.* 106), we can find an example in Scott according to *OED*.

(5) *Onginann* is generally constructed with the bare infinitive. But as to *beginnan* it is hard to say which construction is predominant, that with the bare inf. or with the *to*-inf.?

and þa gebroðra sona *ceosan* ongunnen
eugenian to abbude for hyre arfæstan life (II 118).

Ongan þa to *secgenne* þone soþan geleafan
þam hæðenan þegne be ðæs hælendes fære (X 154).

Hit begann þa on æfnunge egeslice *freosan* (XI 153).

and begann hi to *wrægenne* (II 184).

Table II. The Distribution of Two Kinds of Infinitives Used with
Onginnan

Items \ Inf.	with Bare Inf.	with <i>To</i> -Inf.
The Remaining Items	11 (+1?) ²⁴⁾	2
The Excluded Items	36	2

Table III. The Distribution of Two Kinds of Infinitives Used with
Beginnan

Items \ Inf.	with Bare Inf.	with <i>To</i> -Inf.
The Remaining Items	11	17
The Excluded Items	3	1

(6) In all the constructions of the nexus object except two instances.

In the so called nexus object with the infinitive as its predicative, the

23) Helmut Bock, *Studien zum Präpositionalen Infinitiv und Akkusativ mit dem To-Infinitiv* (*Anglia* 55, 1931, p. 134).

24) Is *awendon* an inf. or preterit pl. in the following sentence?

Hwæt ða la ongunnon þa godes cempa hneðian
and heora mod *awendon* to hyre maga sarnysse (V 48—9).

infinitive is practically always bare. Only two cases are found to be accompanied with the *to*-infinitive.

and het him *gelangian* þa leasan drymen to (IX 104).

and het ða mid gramam his gegadan *to faran*

and *beodon* (sic) þam cristenum þæt hi comon him to (XXVIII 42).

If the *to*-infinitive had established in the classical OE except in these fixed uses,²⁵⁾ why should the examples of the bare infinitive be found in the *Ancrene Riwele*?

7.3. The present writer once defined the use of the bare infinitive as Latinism, since it is often found in the interlinear gloss of the Latin text (*Anglica* Vol. 5, No. 2). In those excluded items of Skeat *Ælfric* XXIII, XXIIIB, XXX, and XXXIII the bare infinitive is frequently used as the subject or object, unlike the other remaining items. If we compare XXIII B and XXXIII with their original Latin texts in *Vitæ Patrum*, i.e., *Vita Sanctæ Mariæ Ægyptiacæ* (pp. 671—690) and *Vita Sanctæ Euphrosynæ* (pp. 643—652), we shall conclude that most instances of the bare infinitive used as the subject or object are due to word-for-word translation.

As the subject we can find the following two examples of the bare infinitive. In the first one the Latin infinitives *adorare* and *contemplari* may have had some influence to cause *beon ascirod* and *from aworpen* to be used. The second is evidently word-for-word translation from Latin.

25) In Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* XXXVIII 30 the infinitive *wiðer-winnan* modifies the participle *afyllede*.

for-þam-þe hi begen wæron mid bealowe afyllede
criste wiðer-winnan mid wodlicre reðnysse (XXXVII 30).

Cf. forþon he gearo wære in ðam ylcan gewinne mid him beon, gif him lefnys seald wære (*The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Thomas Miller, EETS OS 95, 1890, 56/21)/quatenus etsi uobiscum laborare nequeo, simul in gaudio retributionis inueniar, quia laborare scilicet uolo (Plummer, 43/19—21).

Is this a case of the bare infinitive modifying the verb, or is it similar to the use of it in the sentence quoted from Bede by Wülfing in his *Syntax in den Werken Alfredes des Grossen* II §487 (Bonn, 1901)? Wülfing came across only one instance (that is the one quoted above) of the bare infinitive modifying the adjective.

Besides a case of apo koinou may be found here in *togædere becuman*.

forþon witodlice genoh rihtlic is me swa besmitenre fram þinre clænan ungewemmednysse *beon ascirod and fram aworpen* (XXXIIIB 438)/*Domina virgo, quæ Deum genuisti secundum carnem, scio quia nec condecens nec opportunum sit me sic horridam adorare imaginem tuam vel contemplari oculis tantis sordibus pollutis* (*Vitæ Patrum* 682 A).

and to þam mynstre ferde on þære ylcan tide þe heora easter-gewuna wæron to-gædere *becuman* (XXXIIIB 643)/*Iterum autem remeans ejusdem solitudinis iter, quo venerat, conjunxit in monasterio eo tempore, quo consueverant ii qui in eodem morabantur* (*Vitæ Patrum* 686 B).

In the following sentence, is *aræfnian* the subject or the modifier of the impersonal verb? At any rate the bare infinitive functioning as the subject is found in the excluded items.

þe gedafenap soðlice fela *aræfnian* (XXX 117).

7.4. As for the bare infinitive as the object we must begin with calling the following sentence into question.

geic eac *gebidde* þeah-hwæðere for me on þyssere worulde hleorende on þam monðe þe aprilis þære nigeþan nihte (XXIIIB 752).

Skeat takes *gebidde* as an infinitive, reading it *gebiddan* here. But Toller construes this sentence as following in his *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Supplement*.

Ofgif þære eorðan þ hire is, and þ dust to þam duste *geic* (Toller, *op. cit.*, p. 350).

Comparing with the Latin original, we should like to take *gebidde* as the imperative, but not the infinitive.

Redde terræ, quod suum est, et pulveri *adjice* pulverem. *Ora* tantum pro me propter Dominum transeunte... (*Vitæ Putrum* 688 B).

Table IV. The Number of Instances of the Bare Infinitive Used as the Object or Modifier of the Verb.

A	B	C	Total
13	5	3	21

Group A gives the number of instances found in XXIIIB and XXXIII, corresponding to the Latin original.

Group B gives the number of instances found in XIIIB and XXXIII, having no correlatives in the Latin original.

Group C gives the number of instances found in XXIII and XXX.

(A) for-þan þe he gewilnode his flæsc þam gaste *under-þeodan* (XXIIIB 28)/
Multa etiam et ipse sibi adjiciens superaddidit, cupiens carnem spiritui
subjugare (VP 673 B).

forþan þe he gewunode on þam gesettum tidum þæs dæges þone ryne his sið-
fætes *gefæstnian* and standende *singan* and mid gebigedum cneowum *gebiddan*
(XXIIIB 164—165)/Consueverat enim constituto diei tempore *figere* itineris
cursum, et stans *psallere* et genuflexo *orare* (VP 676—677).

forðam þe he gewilnode hine *geðeodan* þam þe ðær fleah (XXIIIB 187)/
Zosimas autem ætatis senectam obliviscens, et laborem non reputans itineris,
tetendit rapidissimo cursu, *desiderans* fugientem (VP 677 B).

þe ærest bidde þæt þu ne geteorige for me *gebiddan* (XXIIIB 320)/supplicans
te prius ut non deficias *orare* pro me (VP 680 A).

and ic wæs gemedemod *gebiddan* þa gerynu þære deorwurðan and þære ge-
liffæstan rode (XXIIIB 466)/et pretiosi ac vivifici crucis ligni *adorare* mysterium
digna habita sum (VP 682 D).

and him ne geþafode fulfremodlice on þa eorðan *astreccan* (XXIIIB 606)/
Illa autem apprehendens senem, non permisit in terram perfecte *prosterni*
(VP 685 C).

and eall þæt gear geornlice þa gesihðe forswegode læstra þinga geðryst-
læcende aht *segan* þæs ðe he geseah (XXIIIB 645)/Et totum quidem annum
illum tacuit, minime audens quidpiam *dicere* ex his quæ viderat (VP 686 B).

ac ic bidde þe modor þæt þu me ealdan anre lytelre bene getyðige þæt þu
lytles hwæt-hwegu gemedemige *under-fon* me þæs ðe ic hider brohte (XXIIIB
713)/Oro, mater, ut unam senis petitiunculam facias, et modicum cibi ex eo
quod huc attuli, digneris *accipere* (VP 687 C).

ne geþrystlæhte he soðlice nan oþer þæs lichaman *oðhrinan* (XXIIIB 744)/
non enim aliud corporis membrum audebat *contingere* (VP 688 A).

Ic bidde þe þæt þu ne geswice *gebiddan* me þæt... (XXXIII 205)/Peto ne
cesses *orare*, ut inveniatur labor orationum tuarum (VP 648 A).

Gelomlice ic wilnode þe *geseonne* þæt þu sume frofre þurh me eaðmodre findan

WHAT WAS THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE..... (Fujiwara)

mihtest (XXXIII 253)/Propter hoc et frequenter te *videre* volui, et colloqui tecum, ut aliquam consolationem per me humilem forsitan inuenires (VP 649 C).

(B) and samod mid heom teolode toforan þam temple *becuman* (XXIIIB 403)/ Abii et ego, currens cum currentibus, et veni cum illis in atrium templi (VP 681 C).

ic gewilnode þas wines on þam ic ær gelustfullode to oferdruncennysse *brucan* (XXIIIB 535)/desiderabam etiam vinum delectabile mihi; multum enim delectabar in vino, et superabundantius usque ad ebrietatem bibebam (VP 684 A).

ða ic me ondræde eft *genydan* to þam geligre (XXIIIB 552). No Latin correspondent.

Geswutela me drihten þæt gehydde gold-hord þe þu me sylfum ær gemedemodest *æteowan* (XXIIIB 738)/Obsecro mihi ostende, Domine, in corpore angelum, cui totus comparari indignus est mundus (VP 688 A).

and lærde hi clænnysse and gepýld and godes ege *habban* (XXXIII 43)/ et benedicens exhortatus est eam de castitate, et humilitate, et patientia timoris Domini (VP 644 C).

(C) þa halgan ðe he ealre worulde furðor *omwreon* gemynte (XXXIII 255).

þa gewilnode he hi *habban* (XXX 166).

þone eac swylce se hælend sylf wæs gemedemod þurh þone heort to his mildheortnysse *gecigan* (XXX 354).

7.5. If the Latin version of the *Ancrene Riwe* should be original and the English version a translation, we could explain the frequent use of the bare infinitive in it. The instances of the bare infinitive in the *Ancrene Riwe* are as follows.

I. The bare infinitive which has an infinitive in the corresponding passage of the Latin version (Me).

(a) As the subject or predicative (primary).

Rihten hire & smeðen hire is of euch religiun, & of efrich ordre þe god, & al þe strengðe (N 4/24).

Rihten hire & smežin hire is of euch religiun ant of euch ordre þe goð & al þe strengðe (B 7/14—15).

Vnde *rectificare et complanare* cor est cuiuslibet religionis perfectio (Me 6/13).

cleane religiun & wiðuten wem is *iseon & helpen* widewen & federlease children & from þe world *witen* him cleane & unwemmed (N 10/3—4).

þ is cleane religiun & wt ute wern is. *iseon* & *helpen* wydnes & falese children. & from þe world *witen* him cleane & unwemmet (B 9/22—25).

Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et Patrem hec est,—*uisitare* pupillos et viduas in necessitate et immaculatum se *custodire* ab hoc seculo (Me 7/19—21).

Gon & *iseon* swuch & *elnen* ham & *helpen* mid fode of holi lore, þis is riht religiun, he seið seint Iame (N 10/13—14).

gan *iseon* þulliche & *elnin* ham & *helpen* wið fode of hali lare; þis is riht religiun he seið sein iame (B 10/7—9).

Tales *visitare* et *iuuare* pabulo sacre doctrine est religio secundum beatum Iacobum (Me 7/27—29).

Cuueiten mon, oðer *haben* wille uorte beon iwilned of mon; bo beoð heaued sunne (N 60/11—13).

Non solum *appetere* sed et appeti *velle* crimosum est (Me 14/31—32).

Hire sulf *biholden* hire owune honden hwite, deð herm to moni ancre þet haueð ham to ueire, ase þeo beoð foridled (N 116/12—14).

hire seolf *bihalden* hire ahne hwite honden; deð hearm moni ancre. þe haueð ham to feire as þeo þe beoð for idlet (B 62/29—31).

Quin immo manus *respicere* obest aliquociens Anachortis que propter ocium manus optinent delicatas (Me 34/30—35/1).

Weien hit to lutel is ase vuel, oðer wurse (N 336/23).

weien hit to lutel; is ase uuel oðer wurse (B 172/16—17).

Minus *ponderare* est adeo uel maius peccatum (Me 129/33).

Uor soð wisdom is *don* euere soule hele biuoren flesches hele (N 372/3).

for soð wisdom is *don* eauer sawle heale; biuore flesches heale (B 189/24—25).

quia vera sapiencia est sanitatem anime *preponere* sanitati corporis (Me 145/16).

(b) After *than*.

Nan more kangschipe nis þen *setten* God terme (N 338/20).

Na mare cangschipe nis. þen *setten* godd tearme (B 173/10—11).

Non est maior stulticia quam *ponere* Deo terminum (Me 130/27).

(c) In apposition to the subject.

Tale is þe vifte totagge—*tellen* al, hu ofte hit is idon (N 320/1).

Tale is þe feorðe totagge (B 164/12—13).

Numerus est quinta circumstancia,—*dicere* totum quociens factum est (Me 122/13).

(d) In apposition to the object.

Penc ancre þene hwat tu pouhtes & souhtes þo þu uorsoke þene world i þine biclusinge,—*biuepen* þin owene & oðre monnes sunnen, & *forleosen* alle þe blissen of þisse liue uorte bicluppen blisfulliche þine blisfule leofmon iðe eche

liue of heouene (N 108/14—17).

pen<c> ancre hwet tu sohtest þa þu forsoke þe world i þe biclusunge. *biwepen* pine ahne & opres sunnen. & *forleosen* alle þe blissen of þis lif. forte cluppen blisfulliche þi blisfule leofmon i þe eche lif of heouene (B 57/24—28).

Cogita igitur quid quesuisti cum mundo renunciasti, includendo te in claustro uel domo *deflere* tua et aliena crimina et omni gaudio mundano *carere* ut sponsum gaudenter possis in celis ample[c]ti celestem (Me 32/17—21).

(e) As the regimen of the preposition.

Nis þer, þeonne, bute *worworþen* sone þet ruwe vel abute þe heorte, & mid softe seihtnesse *makien* hire smeðe & softe, ase is cundeliche wummone hude (N 120/22—25).

nis þer bute sone *forwarþe* þ ruhe fel abute þe heorte. & wið softe sahtnesse *makien* hire smeðe & softe as is cundeliche wummone hude (B 64/35—65/3).

Non restat nisi *abicere* pellem pilosam circa cor et cum mansueta reconciliatione cor *mollire* et *lenire* sicut naturaliter est pellis muliebris (Me 37/4—6).

(f) In extraposition.

Muchel medschipe hit is, he seið, *don* wel, & *wilnen* word þerof: *don* hware puruh me buð þene kinedom of heouene, & sulleð hit for a windes puf of wordes hereword; of monnes heriunge (N 148/1—4).

Muchel meadschipe hit is he seið *don* wel; & *wilni* word þrof. *don* hwer purh he buð þe kinedom of heouene; & *sullen* hit for a windes puf of wordes hereword of monnes herunge (B 77/23—26).

Magna verecundia est grandia *agere* et laudibus *inhiare*; vnde celum mereri potuit, minimum transitorij querit fauoris; vnde, videlicet, regnum celorum mercari posset, *vendere* pro vento verbi laudis (Me 47/27—30).

“Bonum est *prestolari* cum silencio salutare Dei.” God hit is ine silence *ikeþen* Godes grace (N 156/20—21).

Bonum est *prestolari* cum silentio salutare dei. Beatus qui portauerit iugum domini ab adulescentia sua. God hit is i silence *ikeþen* godes grace. & þ me beore godes zeoc anan from his zuheðe. ant þenne kimeð þrefter (B 82/4—8).

Bonum est *prestolari* cum silencio salutare Dei., id est. Dei gratiam (Me 51/15—16).

Vesten ane seoueniht to breade & to watere; oðer þreo niht togederes *wakien*,—hwu wolde hit unstrencðen pine fleschliche stencðe (N 278/3—4).

feasten a seoue niht to weater & to breade. þreo niht to gederes *wakien*. hu walde hit unstrengen þi fleschliche strenge (B 143/17—21).

Ieiunare per octo dies in pane et aqua, tribus noctibus continue *vigilare*—quomodo attenuarent tui corporis robur (Me 103/26—28).

Auh seint Austin deð þeos two boðe in one weie, *wilnen*, & *habe* wille uorte beon iwilned (N 60/9—10).

Vnde beatus Augustinus hec parificat dicens: Non solum appetere sed et appeti *velle* criminum est (Me 14/31—32).

II. The bare infinitive in a passage which has no parallel in Me.

(a) As the subject.

Vesten, wecchen & oðre swuche ase ich nemde nu beoð mine sacrefises (N 138/10—11).

Veaste. wecche & oþre swucche as ich nempnede nu; beoð mi sacrefises (B 73/3—4).

(b) As the subject in the eighth book which neither Ma nor Me has not.

Bidden hit, uorto 3iuen hit nis nout ancre rihte (N 416/9).

Bidden hit forte 3eouen hit; his (sic) nawt ancre rihte (B 212/24—25).

III. The bare infinitive which has no infinitive, but a different construction, in the corresponding passage of the Latin version (Me).

(a) As the subject.

& *don* al þet oðer & *leten* þis nis bute a trukunge & a fals gile (N 12/21—22).

ant *do* al þ oðer. & *lete* þis; nis bute trichunge ant a fals gile (B 11/17—18).

et si alia *assint* et hec *desint*, non est nisi fraus et dolus (Me 8/25—26).

(b) In apposition to the subject.

o ping is þet letteð hire mest, þet is, *beo* wust among men (N 156/15).

a ping þ let him meast. is *beowiste* þ is wununge bimong men (B 81/31—32).

maxime eum impedit *pressure* hominum (Me 51/10—11).

& ðet tet swuðest auauceð & furðreð hit, þet is onlich stude; mon oðer wummon eiðer *beon* him one (N 156/16—17).

& þ swiðest furðreð hit; þ is anlich stude mon oþer wummon eiðer *to beon* ane (B 81/33—82/1).

et quod maxime promouet est solitudo, *ut homo solus sit seu mulier sola* (Me 51/11—12).

(c) As the regimen of the proposition.

Vor beo heo bistedd þer ute, nis þer þeonne buten *leden* hire uorð toward þe waritreo of helle (N 174/19—20).

for beo ha bitrept utewið; nis þer bute *leade* forð toward te gealforke. þ is þe wearitreo of helle (B 90/32—34).

quia si comprehendatur extra, non restat nisi [u]t *ducatur ad furcas infernales* (Me 58/18—19).

Habbeð, þauh, to ower bihoue, þesne lute laste ende, ...of *sitten* to longe

et þurle...of *sheden* crumen, oðer ale; oðer *leten* þinges muwlen oðer rusten, oðer uorrotien;...oðer *biseon* zemeleasliche eni þing þet me mide uarðe, oðer ouhte to zemen (N 342/23—344/7).

Habbeð þah to ower bihoue þis lutle leaste ende...of *sitten* longe ed þurl... of *schede* cromen oðer ale. of *leote* þinges muhelin. Rustin oðer rotien...oðer *biseo* zemelesliche ei þing þ me wið feareð. oðer ahte tozemen (B 175/12—24).

Ad vilitatem tamen vestram habete hunc paruum et vltimum finem de...de longa *sessione* ad locum parlitorij...de *casu* micarum uel effusione potus, de *incuria* rerum erugine rubigine uel corruptione consumptarum...de *quacumque* re *negligenter* seruata que oportuna foret uel custodiri deberet (Me 132/23—133/4).

(d) In the abridged construction.

Þe manere *siggen* al so (N 318/22).

Þe Manere alsua *seggen* (B 164/7).

Similiter de modo (Me 122/7).

Table V. Sum of the Constructions with the Bare Infinitive.

Classes I, II and III are based on the classification above.

I	II	III
28	3	10

The constructions with *lusten* and a small verb, and those of nexus objects with the bare infinitive are excluded.

Lokeð, seið sein Jerome, þ 3e nabben 3icchinde nouðer tunge ne earen; þ is to siggen, þ ou ne luste nouðer *speken* ne *iheren* worldliche speche (N 80/16—18).

lokið seið sein ierome þ 3e nabben 3icchinde nowðer tunge ne earen. þ is to seggen. þ ow ne luste nowðer *spoken*; ne *hercni* worltich speche (B 43/19—21).

Ieronimus: Non habeatis linguam uel aures prurientes, videlicet, desiderantes *loqui* uel *audire* mundana (Me 20/27—29).

Þe þet bereð tresor openliche in one weie þet is al ful of þeoues & of robbares, & of reauares, him luste *leosen* hit & *beon* irobbed (N 150/28—29).

Þe bereð tresor openliche i wei þ is al ful of reaueres & of þeoues; him luste *leosen* hit & *beon* irobbed (B 79/15—17).

Depredari desiderat qui thesaurum in via publice portat, quia via plena est latronibus et raptoribus (Me 49/8—9).

7.6. In the following quotation, the use of *beon icnowen* would be fully understood if the phrase were regarded as a literal translation of a

deponent verb *confiteatur* into the passive turn.

3e, uor so heo mei beon Iudit, þet is, libben herde, ant *beon icnowen* ofte to God of his muchele godleic touward hire, ant hire defautes touward him; þet heo hit zelt him vuele, & crie him 3eorne þerof merci & ore, & schriuen hire þerof ilome (N 136/13—17).

Se uorð se ha mei beo iudith. þ is libben hearde. *beon i cnawen* ofte to godd his muchele godlec toward hire. & hire fawtes toward him þ ha him zelt hit uuele, crie him 3eorne þrof mearci & are. & schriue ilome (B 72/7—10).

Quantum potest sit Iudith, hoc est, uiuat in asperitate, *confiteatur* Dei benignitatem erga se et suos defectus erga Deum et de eo quod male reddit debitum, veniam imploret et Dei misericordiam et sepe *confiteatur* (Me 43/9—12).

In the following quotation *leonie* corresponds to *imitatur* (a deponent verb). *Wreoðie* corresponds to *sustineatur*. The latter Latin verb is not deponent, but passive. The active English verb must have been used through mistaking the Latin passive verb for a deponent.

of so holi liue þet al holi chirche, þet is al Cristene uolc, *leonie* & *wreoðie* upon ham (N 142/7—8).

of se hali lif. þ al hali chirche. þ is cristene folc *leonie* & *wreoðie* up on ham (B 74/31—32).

tam sancte vite quod tota sancta ecclesia, id est, totus fidelis populus, *imitatur* eam et *sustineatur* sanctitate sue vite et beatis orationibus ipsius (Me 45/22—24).

Would not these facts corroborate the view that Latin was the original language of the *Ancrene Riwele*?